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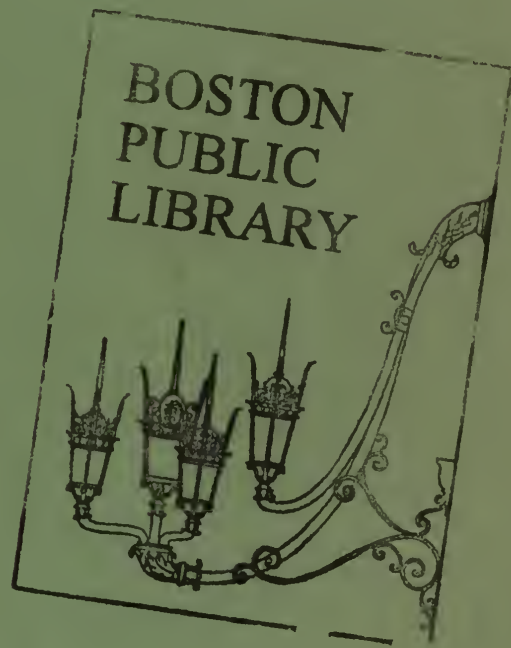
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IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED SOUTHWEST EXPRESSWAY ON JAMAICA PLAIN



Prepared By Working Group From: JAMAICA PLAIN COMMUNITY COUNCIL
JAMAICA PLAIN AREA PLANNING ACTION COUNCIL
COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP CENTER
MENDELL NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION
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Jamaica Plain, Mass.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

If the presently proposed Southwest Expressway is built through Jamaica Plain it will no doubt have major physical, social, and economic effects on the community. This study has attempted to anticipate what the highway's actual impact on Jamaica Plain would be. The citizens of the area can ensure the best planning of their neighborhoods by:

1. A careful examination of the plan for the Southwest Expressway and its possible effects on Jamaica Plain.
2. Taking organized action within the community to bring about any changes which seem necessary in the present plans.

One basic change in the present Expressway plan to make it less destructive to Jamaica Plain is to build a "depressed" rather than the proposed "elevated embankment" type of highway. A depressed road would be a far smaller physical, visual, and psychological barrier through the community. Crossways over the road would be safer, more convenient and pleasant, and could be added in the future as needed. Businesses, schools, and community facilities would be easily accessible from either side of the highway. A depressed highway also makes "air rights development" (such as the Star Market over the Massachusetts Turnpike) possible, so that light industry, parking areas, schools, and even homes could be built over the road. These would serve as further links between the two sides of the highway. The federal Department of Transportation has shown a definite interest in aiding such development. Furthermore, a depressed design would reduce land takings and noise from the Expressway.

While it might be more expensive to depress the Expressway through Jamaica Plain, the Department of Public Works has changed their original plans for constructing elevated structures in Cambridge, Brookline and the Fenway as a result of community opposition.

A number of the proposed highway's negative effects are unrelated to the road's being elevated or depressed. For example:

(1) The difficulty of getting mortgages, insurance, or improvement loans on homes in, or near, the Expressway's path has hastened the deterioration of these residential areas.

(2) The present assessment procedures for property takings, in which the owner receives little or no reimbursement for recent home improvements, also lead to deterioration.

(3) Additional hardship is created for displaced property owners, since the state pays only the "fair market value" for a particular property, and not its actual replacement cost.

(4) Boston's severe shortage of low and moderate-income housing will mean that residents displaced by the highway will have great difficulty in finding comparable relocation housing at rentals, or sales prices, they can afford - especially the sixty percent who wish to stay in Jamaica Plain.

The need to start new government programs, or to make better use of the present ones, has been emphasized in this report. There is a controversy now over the issue of expressways versus some kind of mass transit system as the answer to Boston's transportation problems. Deciding what position to take on this issue and on the issue of an elevated versus depressed road are two items out of many which are raised for community discussion by this report.

FOREWORD

The decision to prepare this Impact Study grew out of a series of discussions involving a number of residents of Jamaica Plain who were concerned about the immediate and long-range impact of the Southwest Expressway upon their community. The residents included representatives of agencies which sponsored the study: the Jamaica Plain Community Council, the Jamaica Plain Area Planning Action Council, the Community Leadership Center, the Mendell Neighborhood Association, and the Brookside Neighborhood Association. The study was prepared by a Working Group consisting of twelve volunteers and staff from the sponsoring groups, assisted by Urban Planning Aid, Inc. Urban Planning Aid is a group of advocate planners who offer their professional services to assist community organizations in planning for the development of their neighborhoods.

The impending construction of a Southwest Expressway through the center of Jamaica Plain represents the largest physical change to the community likely to occur in the foreseeable future. While it would be difficult to forecast all social and economic changes the highway may bring, the group saw the need to consider possible changes before the expressway is constructed and they have become a reality.

At the moment it seems likely that the Southwest Expressway will be built. This study, however, is based on the assumption that it is desirable for residents to play an active role in controlling the impact of highway construction or other public programs upon their community. Therefore, an attempt has been made to present, as honestly and accurately as possible, a picture of the effect the expressway will have on the lives of those who live in Jamaica Plain. While this task can only be approximated at some points, it is hoped that it will help the citizens of Jamaica Plain to discern what, if anything, they wish to do to prepare for the expressway, and what, if anything, they wish to have changed in its plans.

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Copies of this report may be obtained from the sponsoring groups and from Urban Planning Aid.

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I INTRODUCTION

If there is to be meaningful citizen participation in the planning of public programs that directly affect their communities, citizens must have a great deal of information about possible courses of action and their implications. The present report has been written for this purpose, as applied to Jamaica Plain: namely, to provide information concerning the plans for building the Southwest Expressway through Jamaica Plain, the background and implications of those plans, and possible changes and alternatives to present plans. This report does not recommend any particular action on the part of the residents of Jamaica Plain, but it does discuss possible ways of controlling the community impact of the expressway if it is built. It is hoped that widespread discussion within the community, based at least in part upon the contents of this report, will provide a basis for each citizen to decide what action, if any, is called for.

II PHYSICAL EFFECTS

A. General Description of the Expressway

The Southwest Expressway is now planned to run for a distance of slightly less than 2 miles through Jamaica Plain. This expressway has been designed as part of the national interstate highway system to carry through traffic between I-95 in the South and I-95 in the North. The planned route follows the present right of way of the New Haven Railroad, at about the same elevation as the existing track bed. It is very much wider, of course, since it is planned to have 8 lanes of traffic and a total of 4 breakdown lanes (left and right sides, both directions), with three MBTA tracks in the expressway median. In fact, the total width of the strip of land taken for the highway will vary between approximately 300 and 500 feet in contrast to the present railroad holdings which vary from 100 and 200 feet in width. The construction will be by earth fill (i.e., on an embankment) rather than steel structure.

Two interchanges are planned for Jamaica Plain, one at Jackson Sq. and

the other at Forest Hills. There also are to be only two MBTA stations - each to be at or near the two interchanges - rather than three as at present. The planned new underpasses are similar in location to the present ones under the railroad, though the new ones will be much longer.

The total length of the planned Southwest Expressway is just over 8 miles, with an estimated cost of around 80 million dollars. The cost of the two-mile section in Jamaica Plain has been estimated at approximately 20 million dollars. The Southwest Expressway, in turn, is part of the proposed Inner Belt and Expressway System which also includes the Routes 2 and 3, the Northern (I-93) and the Northeast (I-95) Expressways. This proposed system consists of over 26 miles of new expressway costing something between 325 and 400 million dollars, with the Federal government paying 90% of the total. Questions have been raised about the design adequacy of the proposed Expressway System, particularly its effects on established communities and upon the future development of the Metropolitan area. Some of these questions, along with arguments supporting the expressway system, will be touched upon in Section VI.

B. Design Status and Schedule of the Expressway

There are a number of uncertainties concerning the Southwest Expressway at this time. Certain aspects of the design of the expressway are still not settled. For instance, the Federal government has not yet approved any of the detailed design. This fact means that the particular properties which are designated for acquisition by the state may still change, in some cases. Another feature not yet fully determined is the redesign of the New Haven Railroad tracks. It is fully expected that these tracks will be rerouted along the Midland Division right of way, which runs east of and roughly parallel to the presently used Providence Division. No legal agreement, however, has yet been reached between the New Haven Railroad and the MBTA. The possibility of leaving both the two New Haven tracks and the three MBTA tracks (thereby widening the expressway by another 50 feet) has been carefully studied

and the additional costs determined. Debate is still underway between different agencies involved in the planning as to whether the MBTA station should be at Forest Hills or between McBride and Williams Streets, although latest plans call for the latter.

The schedule for the beginning and completion of construction of the expressway is still not certain. Transportation planners in BRA, who are participating with the DFW on some aspects of the design, estimated informally that construction could not actually start for three more years. The reason given was that it would take that long to complete and receive final Federal approval for the detailed design of the expressway, to acquire properties and relocate families and businesses, and to award construction contracts. It still appears to be true, however, that the DFW is aiming to begin land takings along the expressway right of way early in 1968. At the same time it was also estimated that the dismantling of the Washington Street Elevated will not begin for at least six years.

C. Specific Description of the Expressway

A detailed description of expected land takings, changes to the present street pattern, MBTA and interchange location and design, the effects on abutting properties remaining, access of different areas to the expressway is given in Appendix B. In addition, much of this same information can be gotten from a careful study of the map in Appendix A. At the present time, the only detailed map (i.e., at 20-scale) which is complete and up-to-date is in the possession of the state DFW.

D. Noise Level and Air Pollution

The noise level of the expressway will vary, of course, with particular traffic conditions. The most likely source of annoyance to nearby residents will be trucks shifting gears on inclines, especially late at night. Since the adjacent residential area on the west lies on an incline running upward from the highway, the resulting noise will often be clearly audible within a

two to three-block area. Based on the available design drawings of the highway, the most likely places for this to occur are near Boynton, Boylston, and the Jackson Square and Forest Hills interchanges. As an interstate highway, the Expressway will carry a considerable volume of night-time truck traffic.

The degree of air pollution in the vicinity of the expressway will depend upon the general atmospheric conditions from day to day. Under conditions of little surface movement of the air, particularly with a low cloud cover, the surface fumes collecting in the immediate vicinity of the expressway will undoubtedly be noticeable. This condition is aggravated by the presence of moist air and fog. Fumes will sometimes settle in low places along the expressway. Enough of the fumes can be expected to rise, however, so that multiple-story buildings located immediately adjacent to the expressway will, at times, collect fumes through open windows. The fumes will also rise into the residential area on the west overlooking the expressway, particularly when a moderate easterly breeze persists.

E. Summary

The major physical effects include the direct land takings, the increased division of those sections of Jamaica Plain on opposite sides of the Expressway, the changes in the present street pattern and traffic volumes, and the noise and fumes the Expressway will create for adjacent residential areas. While most of these effects may generally be viewed as detrimental by community residents, they must be balanced against the net economic effects for the area and the increased traffic service for Jamaica Plain (which are discussed in later sections). The other perspective of relevance here is to ask whether changes are possible to the design of the Expressway which would reduce its adverse effects while retaining its benefits. Possibilities of this kind also will be examined in later sections of this study.

III POSSIBLE AND FORESEEABLE ECONOMIC CHANGES DUE TO CONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHWEST EXPRESSWAY

Whenever a highway of the size of the proposed Southwest Expressway is

constructed in the midst of a highly populated area such as Jamaica Plain, one thing is clear: the community does not remain the same. Major changes will occur. Such changes may be seen by the present residents either as constructive, representing an improvement to the community, or as destructive, aiding in the deterioration of the community.

As mentioned above, the expressway will run for approximately two miles through Jamaica Plain along the already existing New Haven railroad bed. A variety of properties exist in the path of or very near the proposed site of the expressway. A considerable portion of this property, especially on the east side, is already situated with light and medium industries. Yet much of the property houses residential sites, some of which will be removed and many of which will remain, directly abutting the new highway. It is difficult at this point to determine precisely what will happen to this property, but certain obvious factors can be described. These factors relate to the effects the highway construction will have upon property values and land use for industrial, residential, and commercial purposes.

Several hundred studies of the impact of highways on land uses and property values have been carried out. In 1958, the Highway Traffic Safety Center of Michigan State University reviewed existing studies and listed a bibliography of 500 publications [1]*. More recently the staff economist of the Massachusetts DPW published a similar review [2]. The information presented below is based upon a study of these two documents.

A. The Rate of Industrial Expansion and its Effects on the Community **

Land immediately adjacent to a major highway offers excellent opportunities for industrial expansion. The highway offers easy and direct access for truck traffic bringing in materials and shipping out goods. The industries situated in or near the proposed site at present are plagued with the problem

* Numbers in brackets refer to the Bibliography.

** Such expansion depends upon Jamaica Plain's competitiveness with other areas, as well as the highway's internal effects on the community.

of transportation. To reach these areas, heavy trucks must travel on primarily residential streets which are narrow and difficult to maneuver for truck traffic. The construction of the highway will ease this problem for already existing industries, possibly offering incentive for their own expansion, as well as incentive for new industry to locate in the area.

The publicity value of being near a highway also is great. Signs and billboards can be easily constructed on industrial property and have the advantage of being seen by a heavy flow of traffic over the highway. In addition, accessibility for employees coming to and going from work at these industrial sites will be increased. All of these factors make the land adjacent to the proposed highway highly desirable for a rapid increase in the rate of industrial expansion in the community.

Another possibility for industrial expansion could arise from air rights development (i.e., construction of buildings for light industry on platforms directly over the highway). However, this approach presupposes that a depressed, rather than elevated, expressway were to be built (see Section IX-A).

An increase in industrial expansion along the expressway, if it occurs, will have certain effects upon the community. First of all, as industries spring up in the area, so will the flow of truck traffic. These industries will need space for loading and unloading the trucks that service the industries. Much of the space used by these trucks and other heavy equipment will have to be in and around the residential areas that surround the industries. This will mean a hazard to people and property located in that area. Trucks will make use of residential streets in order to park and unload. There is always the danger of accidents in this situation to older people who have to walk as well as children who play in the neighborhood.

If factories begin to move into residential areas and engulf residences, the chances for blight in the community increase. The noise and fumes from factories and trucks do not make pleasant living conditions. In addition, * Zoning regulation can prevent this, of course, providing the existing residents are organized enough to have political influence.

shift changes may occur at all hours of the day and night. Most of the employees do not live in the neighborhood and may not have high respect for neighborhood property. As residences located within industrial areas lose value, rents begin to drop and the chance of blighting is increased. An isolated concentration of low-income families may result.

B. Effects on Residential Areas

We have already seen that the rate of industrial expansion on land situated near the highway is likely to increase. As industry begins to move into this area, the demand for property will probably be great enough to increase the value of the land. However, this is not necessarily true of the residential buildings situated on the land -- particularly if the highway is elevated. Since mainly the land rather than the buildings is of value for industry, the result can be that the value of land goes up while the value of residences goes down.

As just mentioned, the evidence from previous impact studies indicates that elevated highways have a much more damaging effect on property values in adjacent residential areas than do depressed highways. The Massachusetts DPW's review of impact studies concluded its section on "Residential Land Use" with the following statement: "The most frequent penalty of 25% (in reduced market price) for houses adjacent to elevated portions of the parkway was much greater than for depressed portions." [2,p.49].

Much of the land in this area is owned by people who neither live on the premises nor in the community (27% of the housing units were owner occupied, according to 1960 census data). Hence, sale of this land at increased prices will not benefit most people in the community. Also, the owners of the buildings find little incentive for maintaining the buildings since their main opportunity for financial gain will be to hold the property until an industrial buyer, who only wishes to buy the land, comes along.

In certain portions of Jamaica Plain situated near the proposed highway

site, there is a heavy concentration of residential homes that will not be removed to make way for the highway. There are, in particular, those homes along Lamartine and Oakdale Streets. Upon completion of the road, many of these homes will be directly facing the highway, only a few yards from the edge of the road. Because of its access to the highway, there is a good chance that much of this area along Lamartine and Oakdale Streets will be interspersed with factories. The area near, but not adjacent to, the highway is apt to remain primarily residential. However, although not situated within an industrial area, many of the homes may become neighbors to industry, as industry begins to creep beyond the strip immediately adjoining the highway.

A major factor for residing in any area is the ease of access to shopping centers near home as well as accessibility to the rest of the immediate community. With the construction of the highway, the present underpasses under the railroad will be increased from 50 feet to nearly 200 feet. This kind of a construction presents a major barrier separating the community. Shopping facilities on the other side will be inconvenient to get to without the use of an automobile. The danger already present in certain underpasses of mugging or other attacks will be increased. Children walking to school will have to cross under these tunnels, as will many residents attending church services. (These negative aspects of long underpasses can be minimized, though not eliminated, through a very careful design effort.)

Upon completion of the highway, present plans call for access points (i. e., interchanges) at Jackson Square and at Forest Hills. Such access roads will result in a heavy concentration of traffic at these two points. Heavy traffic is always a detriment to residential areas. Heavy traffic is a danger to children playing as well as to those who must depend upon walking in order to get to shopping facilities.

All these factors tend to make housing less desirable, and therefore induce blight and reduced residential property values.

C. Effects upon Commercial and Business Property

Business property and shopping facilities are directly dependent upon the number of people who frequent these facilities. If the residential population decreases, a decrease in neighborhood shopping facilities can be expected.

The highway in its present elevated embankment design can be seen as a barrier separating the community so as directly to affect businesses. People on one side of the highway will not be able to utilize facilities on the other side as frequently as they presently do. Many people in the area still walk to shopping centers situated near their homes. With the highway acting as a barrier to such traffic, certain stores will suffer a marked decrease in patronage.

On the other hand, near access points to the highway there will be an increase in the number and sales volume of businesses which depend upon highway traffic for their trade. Examples are gas stations, motels, and restaurants. The new businesses will provide some increased services to the community, but they will also tend to draw a certain amount of business away from such services already existing in the area.

IV. IMMEDIATE DISPLACEMENT

A. Residents

Among the full eight-mile length of the Southwest Expressway, the total number of family units (i.e., families or single individuals) to be displaced has been estimated at 735. More than half of the total displacement occurs along the two-mile strip of the highway within Jamaica Plain. The specific figures for Jamaica Plain are as follows:

Families Displaced	304
Individuals Displaced	<u>96</u>
TOTAL FAMILY UNITS	400

Included among those displaced are 109 elderly persons, 265 school-age children, and 141 of pre-school age. The number of unemployed heads of families is 42,

which is more than ten percent of the total. The number of low-income families qualifying for public housing is at least 20. Of the Jamaica Plain residents who expressed a preference when interviewed, sixty percent (211) wanted to stay in Jamaica Plain.

In view of the generally tight market for low and moderate-income housing in Boston, there will be great difficulty in relocating the displaced families in adequate housing at rents (or sales prices) they can afford. For this reason, it seems particularly important that the Relocation Agency, prior to its relocating any families, be required to spell out in precise detail exactly what the relocation opportunities will be for displaced families. The expressway construction itself will be responsible for eliminating more than two hundred residential structures which are "in satisfactory condition or in need of only minor repairs", according to the engineering report made to the DFW [3].

B. Businesses and Employees

The amount of direct business displacement is not large. The most recent estimate available from the Department of Public Works [3] is 83 for the full length of the expressway, with probably no more than half of that number within Jamaica Plain. Since a number of the establishments displaced are small family businesses serving the neighborhood, it may prove impossible for the proprietors to re-establish their business elsewhere. There is no provision for reimbursing displaced businesses for the financial losses they suffer due to loss of "good will" (i.e., the reputation they have built up with their established customers).

As indicated in Section II above, the indirect effects on existing businesses which are close to, but not displaced by, the expressway are expected to be sizeable.

Direct figures for jobs lost due to the highway construction have not been available. Only a very rough estimate can be made by adjusting figures reported in 1962 for the proposed route in view of changes in this route since

then. The figures, moreover, apply to the full 8 miles of the Southwest Expressway. The resulting estimate is that less than 500 employees of commercial and industrial establishments will suffer physical displacement by the highway.

C. Relocation Allowances and Compensation.

The maximum relocation payments (to cover moving expenses) are \$200 for a family or individual and \$3,000 for a business or non-profit organization. Reimbursement of direct loss of personal property, as in urban renewal projects, is not authorized. For the Southwest Expressway, the DFW is contracting with the BRA to handle the relocation. A relocation office is planned to be located in Jamaica Plain. As indicated elsewhere in this Report, owners are compensated at a "fair market value", as determined through an appraisal procedure, for properties taken for highways. The market value is frequently less than what it costs the former owner to buy a comparable house in another location. No adjustment is made for this fact.

D. Institutions

Building the expressway as now planned will not require relocating any buildings belonging to churches or other service organizations, with the exception of the American Legion Post at Forest Hills. More difficult to foresee, however, are the kind and degree of changes which will occur to the service areas of these institutions, which extend on both sides of the present railroad tracks. Both Catholic parishes totally in Jamaica Plain extend on both sides of the tracks, as does one of the three parishes partly in Jamaica Plain. Although four of the five public elementary school districts serving Jamaica Plain are largely on one side of the tracks or the other, all but one will require some redistricting or will find children must cross the expressway.

V. PROBLEMS SEEN BY PEOPLE IN THE PATH OF THE EXPRESSWAY

During the first two weeks of December, 1967, forty-six residents from sixteen different streets of the proposed path of the Expressway were interviewed by one of their fellow residents. Following are tabulations of their answers:

A. Residents' Present Housing

Renters: 18	Owners: 25	Undetermined: 3
Multiple: 25	Single: 12	Undetermined: 9

B. Contacts so far with Official Agencies

7 - never had any contact (work in daytime, etc.)
 3 - called on or went to DPW or City Hall
 34 were contacted (in fall of 1966) by
 18 - BRA
 1 - Housing Inspection Dept.
 15 - Agency Unknown

Content of interview as recollected:

16 - moving to some place else
 4 - survey being taken
 2 - recent improvements to their home

C. Status of Families' Future Plans

36 - Had no plans, except to wait
 3 - Knew wpecifically where they were going to move

D. Relocation Problems Expressed

5 - great uncertainty about being able to afford another place
 5 - need to be near schools
 30 - other (many children, too elderly to move, fearing racial discrimination, etc.)

E. Feelings about Having to Leave

30 - quite upset by situation
 4 - felt resigned
 1 - felt o.k. because of good to Jamaica Plain

VI. THE EXPRESSWAY AND BOSTON'S OVERALL TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM

As mentioned in Section II, the Southwest Expressway is one part of the Inner Belt and Expressway System, which calls for a number of highways radiating out from the Inner Belt (see map, Appendix C). This basic system was first proposed back in 1930 (based on a 1927 traffic survey) with detailed design studies leading to a "Master Plan" being done in 1948 (based on a 1945 traffic survey) and updated in 1960. While many conditions have changed drastically since the system was first proposed - the population and employment shifts associated with Route 128 and the building of the Massachusetts Turnpike Extension, to name two - no detailed consideration has been given to

making any major changes in the basic system as first proposed in 1930.

The basic justification for the proposed Expressway System was presented under Conclusions and Recommendations in the 1960 DPW. design study as published in 1962 [4].

The vigorous industrial, commercial, governmental, and residential development currently in progress in the Boston Metropolitan Area dramatizes the need to accelerate the completion of the Inner Belt and Expressway System. The traffic volume generated by this vigorous growth, witnessed by the congestion on the present network of roads and streets leading to and within the Boston Metropolitan Area, is forceful evidence that the completion of the Expressway System must receive the highest priority in the highway program of the Commonwealth.

Predicted increases of 270,000 in population, 70,000 in employment and 280,000 in motor vehicle registration within sixty-five communities of the Boston Metropolitan Area by the year 1975, accentuated by the current vigorous rebirth of the Core Area and the concurrent rapid growth of suburban areas, are indisputable testimony that augmented and improved transportation facilities are vitally needed. The philosophy of an Inner Belt and Radial Expressway System was presented in the Master Highway Plan for the Boston Metropolitan Area in 1948, and was adopted by the Commonwealth as the basis for a long-range program of highway improvements. This Study reaffirms the validity of an Inner Belt and Radial Expressway concept and the urgency for early completion of the Expressway System.

In October 1966, Urban Planning Aid pulled together a 20-member study group, consisting of city planners, transportation engineers and other professionals who were not convinced that the proposed Expressway System was either an efficient solution (immediate or long-term) to Boston's transportation problems or a desirable influence on the long-range development of the metropolitan area. After a six-month study, a sharply critical report was published [5]. Much of the material presented in the remainder of this section is drawn from the UPA Report.

After reviewing all the published highway design studies done for the Boston area since 1930, the report concluded:

Present transportation plans for the Boston Metropolitan area are obsolete and both technically and socially unsound. Before investing well over a half a billion dollars in a poorly conceived expansion of transportation facilities (highways

and mass transit], thorough re-planning of the next stage (including the proposed Inner Belt and Expressway System) should be undertaken immediately. The need for replanning is urgent because of the real possibility that more than 5000 families will be displaced and long-established, healthy neighborhoods uprooted to build expressways which still do not fit in with the long-term transportation needs of the area.

A major reason the state has depended so heavily on highways in its previous planning is that vast federal funding was available for highways while none was available for rapid transit. When federal funds did become available for rapid transit in 1962, the MBTA attempted to fit its expansion plans into the existing plans for highways. The resulting design consisted mainly of paralleling the radial highways with radial transit extensions, some running far into the suburbs. Such an arrangement of highways and mass transit necessarily produces direct competition between the two for users. One result of this competition is quite likely to be a heavy and continuing operating deficit for the MBTA.

An arrangement of funneling a whole series of large expressways into the heart of the central city inevitably leads to still more traffic congestion which is then used to justify the building of still more expressways in the core city. Supporting this contention is the fact that DFW has plans developed for an Inner-Inner Belt, a belt intermediate to the Inner Belt and Route 128, and a belt intermediate to Routes 128 and 495.

Granting that more highways and more mass transit will both be needed due to future population growth, many other arrangements are nonetheless possible between highways and mass transit in a large metropolitan area. The relative reliance on mass transit or highways also can vary widely, as the contrast of New York with Los Angeles shows. Determining just which arrangement is best for a particular city is a large and complex task and can be done only by systematically comparing several different arrangements. The importance of making such a comparison prior to deciding which one to accept as the area's overall transportation system has been emphasized in guidelines

and regulations issued by the Federal government. For the Boston Metropolitan Area, however, no alternative transportation system has ever been studied by the state.

In Section VIII below, other possible arrangements between highways and mass transit will be outlined. As one would expect, some arrangements would result in fewer large expressways running through densely-populated communities near the center of the metropolitan area than others. Since the original design study of 1930, Boston has found itself committed to an arrangement relying heavily upon an extensive network of expressways within the metropolitan core. While it is quite clear that Boston does need increased transportation facilities, it does not follow that more and more in-town expressways are the only possible answer.

VII. EFFECT OF DELAYED CONSTRUCTION UPON PROPERTY VALUES

The Federal government has been considering the possibility of a study of the whole transportation plan for Boston. If this is done, there could be still further delays in the construction of the Southwest Expressway. Unless special steps are taken to facilitate continuing maintenance of the properties now threatened by acquisition for the highway, those buildings not already abandoned and fully deteriorated will continue to depreciate rapidly. Those already abandoned present a sorry picture, as can be seen at Boylston Station. Even occupied buildings are allowed by their owners to deteriorate while awaiting acquisition. The inability to obtain regular insurance rates and improvement loans contribute to the reduction in property values. In addition, the prevailing practice of property valuation at the time of land taking does not fully reimburse owners for recent improvements they may have made. In fact, the procedure of assessing the fair market value, rather than the replacement value, also reduces the value of threatened properties.

There is apt to be some reduction in property values in areas immediately adjacent to the threatened areas, particularly those areas which will have

reduced accessibility to transportation and shopping facilities, schools, churches, etc. when the highway is constructed. The longer the delay of construction, provided eventual land takings continue to appear highly probable, the greater the loss in property values is apt to be.

Government agencies could take various steps to slow down or prevent the loss in value suffered by threatened property. One kind of action could be to change the way of considering costs of recent building improvements in determining the final price received by the owner. The Federal government could agree to provide funds for repaying the owners the full cost of those building improvements made after a specified date which are not directly reflected in the compensation granted under the usual valuation procedure. If this were done, owners would have an incentive to maintain their properties during the period in which governmental acquisition is pending. It is possible that an arrangement of this kind may result from the negotiations between Cambridge and the Federal Highway Administrator. Maintaining municipal services at their full level, rather than letting them also deteriorate, will certainly help retain property values. There are undoubtedly other effective means of achieving this same end.

VIII. POLITICAL CONTEXT

Recently, a number of citizen groups have been exploring ways they can make alterations in state highway plans which they feel will have unreasonably damaging effects upon their community. The most notable effects of these actions have been in Chicago, San Francisco, and New Orleans, where concerted opposition has greatly modified or altogether stopped highway construction. In the process, these communities have proven that it is possible for citizens who question the wisdom of a given highway plan to make their protests meaningful. They have also shown that to be effective, the resident groups must enter the political arena in a serious and determined way.

A Massachusetts community desiring to modify a state highway plan can

expect to encounter resistance from the Department of Public Works, which has carefully guarded its right to determine highway decisions. A locality no longer has a legal veto on highway construction. On the other hand, each community has at least one vital weapon: the Federal Highway Act of 1962, which states plainly that the State must cooperate with communities in planning highways - if the State fails to cooperate, it must forfeit federal highway funds.

There has been a long and bitter controversy between citizen groups in affected communities and the state DPW over the planning of the Inner Belt and Expressway System. Groups in Arlington, Lexington, Belmont, Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge have attempted to persuade the DPW to plan cooperatively with community residents concerning the highway. The greatest opposition has come from Cambridge, where the United Effort to Save our Cities proposed an alternative which would displace 80 percent fewer families (300 vs. 1300 families) than the route designed by the state. The Governor agreed to the community's request that a comparative evaluation of the two different routes be made. The DPW and its own highway consultant, however, did the evaluation and, quite predictably, decided they liked their own route best. Strong protests over the inadequacies of the DPW study were made directly to the Federal Highway Administrator, who was also presented with a petition signed by over 500 M.I.T. and Harvard faculty members calling for a proper restudy of the Inner Belt System. In September 1967, the Highway Administrator indicated his willingness to fund a new study and he is currently negotiating with the City of Cambridge concerning the details of the study.

Although Cambridge has raised by far the loudest cry against the Inner Belt, other communities have voiced strong opposition. The Lower Roxbury Community Corporation, which has been working on a renewal housing project in their neighborhood, will find itself virtually strangled by a giant interchange of the Inner Belt and the Southwest Expressway. The new homes will be nestled between an eight-lane and a twelve-lane highway. In addition to the

noise, pollution, danger, inconvenience and general blight from the highways, they will also take a large quantity of land which could have been used for housing.

The Lower Roxbury Community Committee has passed a strongly worded resolution against the highways, and has been supported in this stand by the Roxbury Area Planning Action Council, the Congress on Racial Equality, the NAACP, and the Urban League. These organizations are sharply concerned that the needs and rights of the Roxbury community are being sacrificed to the single interest of moving wheeled traffic more quickly through the city, with benefits mainly to suburbanites. They have publicly insisted on the need for a thorough review of the DPW's plans, taking into account a wide variety of urban needs.

Two Brookline neighborhood organizations have joined Cambridge and Roxbury in opposing the proposed highway system and have asked for a restudy. Initially, these groups were concerned only to save the homes in Brookline which the Belt route would take. However, after studying the impact which the Belt would have on the Metropolitan area as a whole, the Longwood Association voted resolute opposition to the entire Inner Belt plan, and cooperation with Cambridge and Roxbury in demanding a restudy.

This fall, members of the Cambridge, Roxbury and Brookline groups met with a number of State Senators and Representatives, to inform them of the need for and of progress made toward a restudy of Boston transportation planning and to urge their support. Thirty-eight legislators from the Boston area signed a petition asking for a restudy, and this petition was presented to the Federal Highway Administrator.

In the face of this concerted effort to persuade the Federal government to adopt a policy requiring that state agencies plan transportation systems cooperatively with affected communities, the Massachusetts DPW has recently launched a counter-offensive. DPW Commissioner Ribbs has been appealing openly to Boston financial and business interests to apply pressure on Washington to

go ahead immediately with the proposed Inner Belt and Expressway System without making any of the community-backed changes [6,7].

Depending upon the position adopted by the Federal Highway Administrator and the Secretary of the Department of Transportation, new opportunities could open up for communities like Jamaica Plain to participate in the final planning and design of highways penetrating their neighborhoods. If that opening occurs, it will be up to each community to decide whether it wishes to organize itself to take advantage of the opportunity.

IX. POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES TO ELEVATED EXPRESSWAY THROUGH JAMAICA PLAIN

A. Comparison with a Depressed Expressway

A depressed highway would be much less disruptive visually than one which is elevated. In fact, the existing railroad embankment would be removed and depressed, with a resulting visual improvement. Crossways over a depressed highway would be easy to build initially and easy to add in the future, as needed. Air rights development (i.e., building on a platform erected directly over the highway, such as the Star Market did over the Massachusetts Turnpike in Newton) becomes feasible for light industrial, commercial, or housing uses. The federal Bureau of Public Roads (but so far not the state DPW) has shown considerable interest in air rights development. Land takings also may be somewhat reduced with a depressed highway. Through proper construction techniques and landscaping, the noise resulting from a depressed highway can be considerably less than from an elevated highway.

The planned interchange at Forest Hills will consist of a metal superstructure for the two hundred feet width of the highway. The crossways under such a structure have proven in previous instances to be generally dark, dirty, and dangerous. (A number can be found in the North End under the Central Artery.) The rest of the Expressway through Jamaica Plain, which is to be constructed upon an earth embankment, will make it almost impossible to get

any new crossings built after the highway is completed. With the elevated-embankment design, it also is not possible to have new development either under or over the highway.

An elevated highway is generally thought to be less expensive to build than a depressed highway. For this reason, the DPW has been interested in constructing elevated, rather than depressed highways in as many places as possible. For example, their initial proposal for the Inner Belt in Cambridge was elevated on an embankment (like the Southwest Expressway in Jamaica Plain). Following strong opposition to the proposal, a depressed highway was then offered by the DPW. In a recent statement, Commissioner Ribbs of the DPW indicated that depressing the highway through Cambridge would cost approximately 20 million dollars more (which would represent an increase of roughly one-third over the cost of an elevated highway). In addition, the Federal Highway Administrator recently agreed to pay the additional cost of footings and foundations for construction (of housing etc.) over the highway and to adjust the construction timetable to allow relocation of existing residents into new air rights housing in their same neighborhoods. (As described, however, Cambridge is still fighting because the residents feel that relocation would not really work for the 1300 families in the path of the highway and the division of neighborhoods would still present a serious problem.)

Political opposition has also led to changes in the Inner Belt plans near Boston University and along the Fenway. Through the Fenway, the Inner Belt was originally proposed essentially at street level at a cost of \$30,861,000. However, in the face of strong opposition to this plan, the DPW changed to a tunnel (just below the surface) through this area at a cost of over \$60,000,000. Some consideration is now being given to lowering the tunnel to allow the Muddy River to flow through the area naturally, rather than diverting it. For the Inner Belt's crossing of the Charles River near Boston University, a bridge was originally proposed, at a cost of \$34,730,000. Under political pressure

from Boston University and the town of Brookline, the state DPW has agreed to propose a tunnel to the Federal government, at a cost of \$56,810,000. The DPW is now trying to justify the change on aesthetic grounds.

At present, the Southwest Expressway between Forest Hills and Ruggles Street is the only elevated highway being proposed near residential areas as part of the Inner Belt System. (The Inner Belt in Roxbury is proposed as a depressed highway but no air right development has been discussed, even though the Federal Highway Administrator has indicated his willingness to pay foundation costs for such construction in Cambridge.)

The cost of depressing the highway would be at least one-third higher, if one assumes the Cambridge experience is applicable to Jamaica Plain. (It might even be less, however, in view of the salability of the fill making up the present railroad embankment and the topography along the route.) Considering what the Federal government and the state DPW have agreed to do in other sections of Metropolitan Boston - sometimes at even a doubling of costs - it is clear that design changes of this magnitude are not impossible.

One can also raise serious questions about the assumption that there will be a large increase in total cost with a depressed highway. Although the initial cost of construction to the government (90% Federal, 10% state) might be higher, the cost to property owners in Jamaica Plain might be less. Increased property values in nearby residential areas, due to the highway's being depressed, would mean higher tax revenue to the city - a crucial need at this time. If air rights construction (for light-industry, commercial, and other uses) was located over the depressed highway, the tax base would expand considerably. In the long run, this could result in the net cost being less, not more.

B. Other Possibilities

Since what is politically "realistic" often changes unpredictably, it may be worthwhile to speculate about other alternatives to the Southwest

Expressway, as it is now proposed.

If the Federal government does proceed to finance a complete restudy of the Metropolitan Transportation Plan for Boston and if that study should develop a really new approach to solving Boston's transportation problems, there might still be a cancellation of the Southwest Expressway. In the unlikely event that this should happen, Jamaica Plain would still face a considerable problem, in view of the high degree of deterioration that has occurred along the proposed highway site. Another important consideration would be the fate of the Washington Street Elevated. The range of "possibilities" in the face of the eventuality assumed here is large - though many would differ as to how realistic the various possibilities would be.

One possibility would involve the MBTA's proceeding to relocate its rapid transit lines along the present tracks of the New Haven Railroad, building new MBTA stations in Jamaica Plain, and then dismantling the Washington Street El once the new lines were ready for service. This approach would make no direct contribution to redeveloping the deteriorated area now threatened by the Expressway. Private investment, however, might gradually restore the area, at least partially.

A different approach with wider benefits would involve declaring the area along both sides of the proposed Expressway site an Urban Renewal Area. In this case, it might be possible to relocate the rapid transit lines along the present New Haven tracks, but depressed rather than elevated. Depressing the MBTA lines might be justified on the basis of its positive effects for redeveloping the adjacent area, which would thereby become much more desirable for residential purposes. The same Urban Renewal Plan could provide for rehabilitated and new housing for various income levels, including possibly the full range of low, moderate, middle, and high. With the removal of the blighting effects of the present railroad tracks and the threatened expressway

and with the advantages of nearby mass transit service, the favorable location that this section of Jamaica Plain enjoys within the metropolitan area would have a chance to come forth.

The federal Concentrated Code Enforcement Program - encouraging rehabilitation through financial assistance to home owners, represents another means by which deterioration associated with the long-impending highway construction might be reversed. Though experience with this program has been disappointing so far (in the South End, particularly), it may prove effective if properly administered.

Another possibility to consider is that if the Expressway does not come through Jamaica Plain, both the Washington Street Elevated and the New Haven Railroad will be retained in their present locations and no public programs will be forthcoming to aid in redeveloping any sections of Jamaica Plain. It should be mentioned in this connection, that the reasons for relocating the MBTA lines through Jamaica Plain are not related only to the building of the Southwest Expressway. That is, the relocation is also based on the need for direct mass transit service to the new city-wide English High School in Madison Park (Lower Roxbury). At this moment, it is impossible to know whether this, and related, considerations would be sufficient for relocating the MBTA in Jamaica Plain, even without the Expressway being built.

The preceding possibilities have been outlined as relevant background to residents of Jamaica Plain who are weighing the future prospects of their community and are attempting to decide what political action, if any, they may wish to take to influence the outcome.

X. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

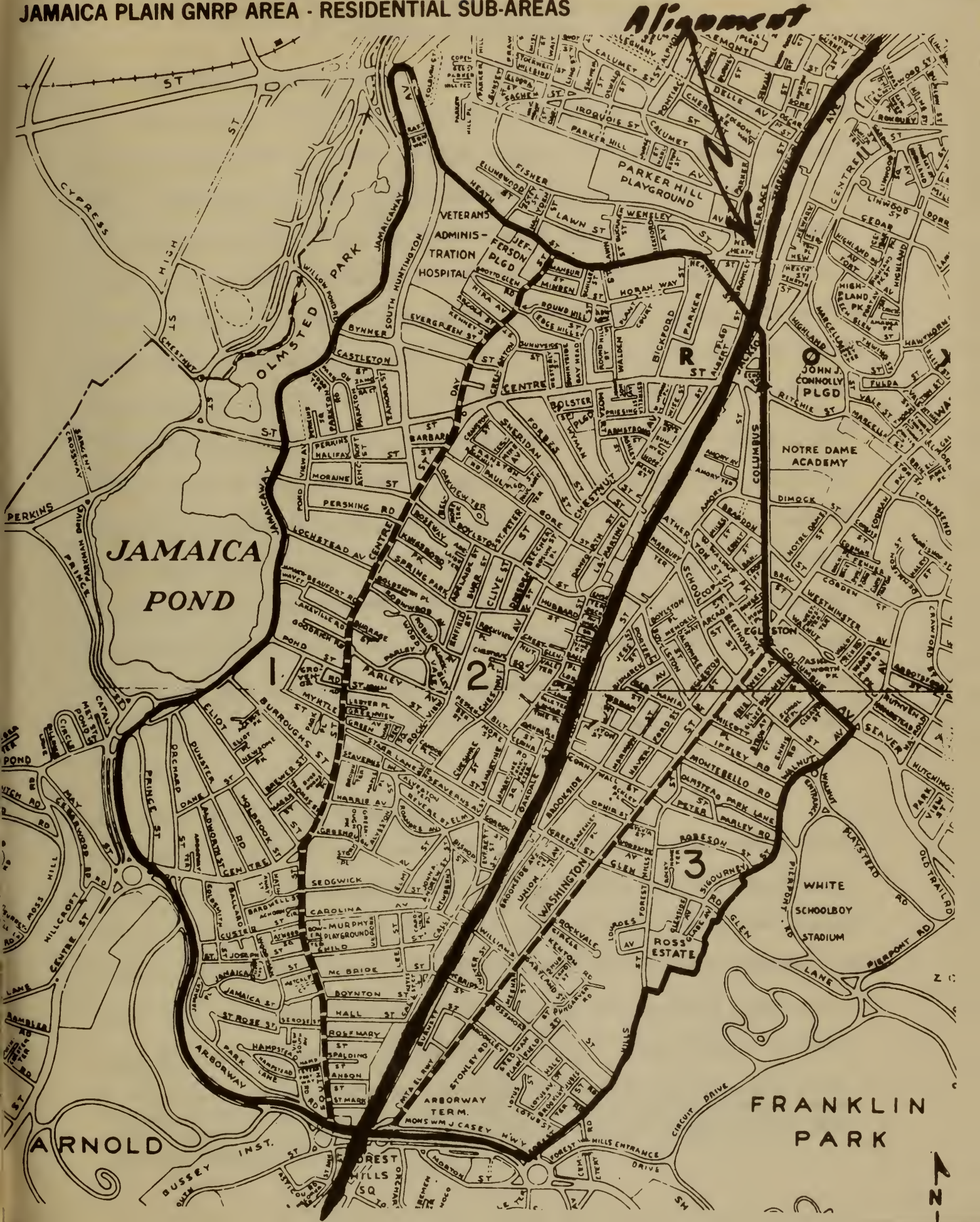
As stated in the Introduction, no attempt has been made in this report to develop conclusions with regard to any community action involving the planned Southwest Expressway in Jamaica Plain. Rather, an attempt has been made to examine the status of present plans, the impact they could have upon the

community, possible changes or alternatives to those plans, and other means by which the community can control the impact that the expressway has. Since highway plans emerge from an ongoing political process, within which many interest groups operate, the report has also tried to describe the current political context in respect to transportation planning in Boston.

The major conclusion from the study is that the DPW's plan for building the Southwest Expressway through Jamaica Plain unleashed a chain of events which are having and will continue to have a major impact on the community. This would be true even if, for some reason, the Expressway were not to be built. Presuming, however, that the Expressway is built, its construction will represent the single largest expenditure of public funds in Jamaica Plain within the foreseeable future. For that reason, it seems absolutely essential that the citizens of the area keep fully informed concerning the plans for the expressway and work to ensure that the design and execution of those plans provide ~~maximum~~ benefit to the community.

APPENDIX A: PROPOSED SOUTHWEST EXPRESSWAY

JAMAICA PLAIN GNRP AREA - RESIDENTIAL SUB-AREAS



APPENDIX B
SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION OF THE PHYSICAL EFFECTS
OF THE SOUTHWEST EXPRESSWAY

26.

1. Forest Hills Station Area

This area will include roads at three levels. On top, the Arborway viaduct will pass over the entire complex, much as it does now, going east and west. Beneath the viaduct, the new expressway and MBTA tracks will pass north and south on a second level. On the bottom or ground level, a large traffic rotary will be fed by streets such as South Street, Morton Street, Washington Street, and Hyde Park Avenue. The north and south bound collector roads will pass under the viaduct at the middle level. Additional property taken beyond that owned publicly or owned by the railroad, will include everything north of Hyde Park Ave. and Washington, such as the block of businesses north of Walk Hill and west of Hyde Park Ave.* Property taken on the Arboretum side will include the apartment building at 282 South Street and extend up through 290 South Street and 14 Asticou Road. Across Morton Street an exit ramp from the expressway's southbound feeder road will pass behind the apartment building at the corner of South Street and St. Mark and then curve around to join South Street. It will leave the apartment building, plus possibly a couple of the buildings across St. Mark Street. The American Legion Hall is not scheduled to remain.

2. Forest Hills to McBride Street

East of the railroad the main property now designated for taking is the Gulf Oil plant. Another change will be a ramp coming from the expressway's northbound collector road emptying autos onto Washington Street near Burnett Street. From that point on, Washington-Columbus will be the northbound feeder road to Jackson Square. People in this area who wish to drive intown on the expressway will either take Washington-Columbus to Jackson Square, or else

* All statements concerning the particular properties to be taken for the highway are based upon present plans and the current detailed design. This design, however, is still subject to change so that the indicated land takings may change in the future.

backtrack under the viaduct to Walkhill Street.

West of the railroad, current plans show property to be taken up to a line including 116 McBride Street, 35 Boynton Street, 54 Hall Street, and 7 St. Mark Street. McBride, Boynton and Hall Streets will feed directly into a collector road with all traffic moving south. Anson, Spaulding, and Rosemary will become through streets, which may create more safety hazards and less play space for the children who currently play there.

3. McBride to Green Street

Property taking in this area is restricted to west of the railroad bed. All of Call Street, including all lots on both sides, will be taken. In addition, homes up to, but not including 107 McBride are currently expected to be taken. On Everett, between Call and Bishop, only the side nearest the tracks is likely to be taken, but the homes across the street will be opening directly onto a retaining wall for the collector road. From there, the current best estimate of the line of takings includes 22 Everett, 11 Gordon, and 137 Green. Property near this line will be next to the Southbound Collector Road.

Current plans call for placing a single MBTA station between McBride and Williams-Carolina in place of the current two stations at Forest Hills and Green Street. This plan necessitates an extra bus lane on the west (Call St.) side of the Expressway. Current plans also make McBride one-way going west, and Williams one-way going east in order to circulate the extra bus and auto traffic anticipated as a result of the station. However, current maps show at least part of Carolina as a two-way street, perhaps to facilitate bus travel going west. This plan, of course, brings to the area both the advantages and disadvantages of being close to a major transportation depot.

4. Green Street to Boylston Street

Here, also, no land taking is scheduled on the east (Amory St.) side of the tracks. Increased difficulty in keeping close touch with that part of Jamaica Plain on the other side of the expressway is likely. Both the Green Street and Boylston Street underpasses should remain. They are scheduled to

be widened and, of course, lengthened to around 200 feet. A pedestrian overpass is scheduled to cross from Lawndale Terrace to a location between the end of Minton Street and the Jamaica Plain Neighborhood House. Whether Amory Street is to be one-way going north, or two-way, is not certain. Amory Street will not be a collector road, however, since it will not have access to the highway. On one end, it will still stop at Green Street; on the other, it will dead-end before reaching Jackson Square.

From Green Street to Lamartine Place, the landtaking line is somewhat irregular, roughly following the western side of Oakdale Street. It takes a small part of Johnson Playground, but may leave the next two buildings on Oakdale Street, as well as across the street at 8 Oakdale Square, but may leave 3 Lamartine Place while taking part of its yard. From there on, everything not facing Lamartine Street is scheduled to go. Houses are scheduled to remain along Lamartine Street up to Lawndale Terrace, and perhaps one house beyond. From Lawndale Terrace to Boylston, property will be taken only on the railroad side of Lamartine.

Homes remaining in this area will find themselves on, or near, the one-way collector road which will correspond to Oakdale continued on through to link up with Lamartine between Lorene and Lawndale (See map in Appendix A). They will also be near the crosswalk at Lawndale Terrace. For people living on the west side of Lamartine Street between Boylston and Green Streets, access to the Expressway going north will require that they drive south on the collector road, take the underpass at Green Street, follow Amory to Dimock and onto Columbus Ave., and then use the ramp at the Jackson Square interchange. The alternate approach of taking a cross street west onto Chestnut Avenue and then down Centre Street to Jackson Square will, in most cases, be no faster.

5. Boylston Street to Jackson Square

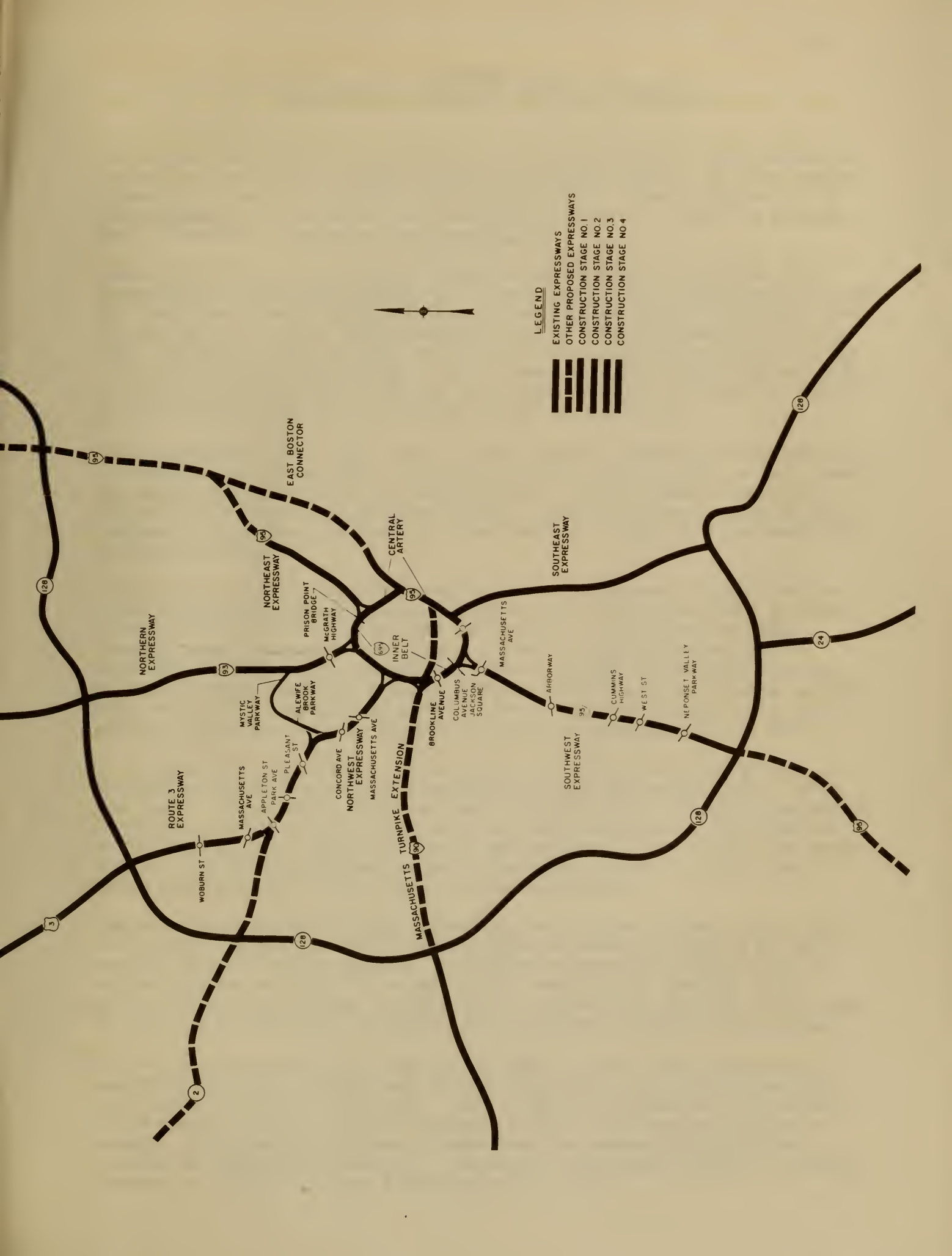
On the eastern side, no land taking beyond the railroad is planned between Boylston and Atherton. Slight landtaking will occur from the Holtzer-Cabot

Corporation, with an increased amount from Amory Avenue to Ritchie Street (see map). The latter is necessary for an exit ramp from the expressway which will empty onto a new east-west boulevard running half a block south of the current Ritchie Street. Amory Street will terminate in a dead-end just before the ramp. On the eastern side, landtaking will not need to go beyond Lamartine Street in the Boylston Station area. From just before Wyman Street to Mozart Street, a small amount of land and one building will be taken on the western side of Lamartine (see the map in Appendix A). From Mozart to Roys, all lots not facing on Chestnut are scheduled to be taken. Beyond Roys, all lots not facing on Wise or Centre will at least partially be taken. Property which remains in this area will be on or near the southbound collector road (the new Lamartine Street) as well as near the southbound entrance ramp between Roys and Mozart Streets.

6. The Jackson Square Interchange

Most of the construction of this interchange will take place on the Roxbury side of the present railroad tracks. The view to those in and near the Bromley Heath Development will be altered, however, because the rapid transit and expressway will separate at this point. The southbound lanes of the expressway move to the east by rising some thirty feet above the rapid transit lanes, which will remain on the current railroad bed.

Centre Street and Heath Street will be widened to boulevard width as they pass under the expressway, in the latter case to prepare for the planned Washington Park Boulevard which is to replace Heath Street. Also, an MBTA station is currently planned to straddle Heath Street. This means rapid transit and bus transportation will be close for residents of the area. It also means most traffic on Lamartine Street in front of Bromley Hall and the playground will now also include buses and autos from the MBTA station.



LEGEND

- EXISTING EXPRESSWAYS
- OTHER PROPOSED EXPRESSWAYS
- CONSTRUCTION STAGE NO. 1
- CONSTRUCTION STAGE NO. 2
- CONSTRUCTION STAGE NO. 3
- CONSTRUCTION STAGE NO. 4



APPENDIX D
CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY ACTION IN CAMBRIDGE

The city of Cambridge in its opposition to the Inner Belt is a good example of the nature of political struggle against the highway system. For this reason, a summary of events in that city may be instructive. After a long series of discouragements, it now seems that Cambridge is winning the right to participate in decisions relating to the Inner Belt.

Opposition to the Belt through Cambridge has rallied around the theme that "Cambridge is a City, Not a Highway." As now planned, the eight-lane Belt would run almost two miles through Cambridge, uprooting 1300 families and effectively cutting the city in two. When Cambridge lost the veto on highway planning in 1965, the DPW felt that the last hurdle had been cleared and expected to start land-taking and construction after early federal approval. Cambridge was unable to reach a resolution of the highway issue with the DPW. It became necessary for Cambridge to take its case outside the DPW's offices.

The neighborhoods which would lose the 1300 families organized the United Effort to Save Our Cities (SOC). They held rallies, erected signs on their homes, and staged several large public demonstrations. (One of these brought out 1500 persons to a march on the State House.) They also asked a group of professional city planners to develop a less destructive route for the Inner Belt through Cambridge.

Through 1965 and 1966, the primary effort was to bring the plight of the Cambridge residents to general public attention, and to force the State to agree to reconsider the Belt. As the 1966 Gubernatorial election neared, this strategy seemed successful. In October, Governor Volpe announced that he would yield to Cambridge's wishes, and order a restudy of the route, and appointed a special Cambridge Citizens Advisory Committee to the Governor on the Inner Belt. This Committee consisted of two of the planners who had worked with SOC, and a local priest who had led Cambridge opposition to the Belt.

As it turned out, the members of State agencies who participated in the re-study were unwilling to work co-operatively with the representatives from Cambridge. The planners' alternate route was not given a thorough or impartial evaluation, and the State's final report was both inadequate and misleading. On the basis of this report, Governor Volpe announced in May of 1967 his intention to re-submit the original route to the Federal Bureau of Public Roads (which would pay 90% of the costs for an approved road).

Despite this set-back, Cambridge opposition was stronger and more united than ever before. In addition to SOC determination to continue fighting the Belt, the City Council voted a unanimous resolution to oppose the Belt and not to cooperate in any way with its construction. More than 500 members of the Harvard and M.I.T. faculties signed a public statement in late May, questioning the need for an Inner Belt and asking for a complete restudy of the problem.

With Volpe's announcement in favor of the DPW's original route, Cambridge opponents of the Belt realized that the only hope for a serious and objective re-consideration lay in Washington. Late in May, 100 members of the Save Our Cities group traveled by bus to Washington to speak with Senators Brooke and Kennedy. Both Senators expressed concern over the community's plight and promised to investigate the matter. The area's congressman, Thomas P. O'Neill, promised to continue his long fight against the Belt.

In subsequent weeks other delegations from Cambridge, including the City Council, the Mayor and his Planning Coordinator, and the professional planners working with SOC, met in Washington with Secretary Alan Boyd of the Department of Transportation and Lowell Bridwell, the Federal Highway Administrator. The final decision on the Belt lay in Bridwell's hands, and he seemed to be impressed both with the extent of Cambridge opposition to the road and with the inadequacy of the DFW's restudy.

In September of this year, Bridwell came to Cambridge and announced his willingness to delay a decision on the Inner Belt until a thorough restudy could be made. Cambridge has seized this opportunity, so long denied by the DPW, and has outlined the particular areas which should be studied. At present these include: (1) a study of "joint development", whereby replacement housing and light industry or commercial facilities are constructed in the same area (particularly utilizing air-rights construction over the road) and at the same rate as displacement by road construction and (2) a study of the overall transportation needs of the Boston metropolitan area in relation to the proposed Inner Belt and Expressway System and other arrangements of highways and mass transit. These studies would be carried out by independent transportation engineering consulting firms.

As indicated above, the outcome of the negotiations between Mr. Bridwell and the City of Cambridge now hangs in the balance.

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